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No Segregation In Foxholes

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Arrow Studio

LOUIS P. COOK (*center*), *first Negro salesman employed by Los Angeles, California, division of General Tire Company, is welcomed to the staff by company representative William G. Fuqua* (*left*) *as Lester P. Bailey, NAACP field secretary, looks on approvingly.*

■ This piece traces the gradual decay of Jim Crow in the American Army

No Segregation in Foxholes

By George C. Reinhardt

THE end of racial segregation in the United States Military Establishment is a proud milestone in the march of American democracy. No longer can the color of a soldier's skin affect his chance of promotion, duty assignment, or billet. The disappearance of segregation in the armed forces is a story that needs telling, at home and abroad.

Communist propaganda has won more victories in the battle for men's minds by capitalizing on the color of their skins than by any other issues. Today, hostility to the white man threatens the Far East, India, The Moslem World, and Africa. The "color" question helped the communists win China and spurred their troops to fight in Korea. Racial fissures in America, distorted and exaggerated by the Red "party line," have long been an ace weapon in these cold war maneuvers.

COL. GEORGE C. REINHARDT *is stationed at the U. S. Army Engineer School at Fort Belvoir, Virginia.*

The Soviet propaganda mill will never drop its favorite theme song, but the people of Europe and Asia will reject communist lies they see disproved before their own eyes by our fighting men. The evidence is there. We need only ask them to look at it! Elimination of racial segregation in our armed forces is the best possible proof of American democracy in action. In German casernes, French and English billets, white and colored soldiers of the United States Army share quarters without regard to race; stand formations with mixed races, but identical uniforms, in the same squad. United Nations' troops and observers returning from Korea can attest there was no color line in foxholes, nor in the rest camps either, of the 8th U. S. Army.

Aggressive communist argument has long stressed the "bondage" of American Negroes, comprising roughly ten per cent of our population. Admitting that the United States has a long way to go before attaining ideal social status for our Negro citizens, we need not be apologetic before the world. Com-

pared to the Negro's lot in other lands, Americans of color have invariably been better off than members of their race elsewhere. Even the more "enlightened" treatment of Negroes in the British Empire, where slavery was abolished years before our Emancipation Proclamation, cannot measure up to the actual living conditions in this country at any equivalent stage of history. When the slaves were freed there were ten colored Americans for every slave brought to our shores; when freedom came to the Negroes in the British colonies there were only one-third as many persons to free as there had been slaves imported.

GREAT PROGRESS

The swift progress made by the Negro in the United States is without parallel in history. A shift from extremely primitive society to almost complete membership in the most complex segment of the modern world within an average span of 200 years is a remarkable achievement.

The measure of the progress is evident in the record. Less than 40 years ago, in 1914, a bill was presented in Congress to introduce segregation in the Civil Service. Supporting the measure, Congressman Aswell asserted, "Segregation of the races is imperative and must come. It has been proved successful in the Army." Aswell rested his case on the Almighty, who, "by the stamp of color decreed that the Caucasian race should occupy positions of authority and control the destinies of this country. . . . The United States is peculiarly commissioned to lead all other nations not only in purity of race quality, but in world problems of just and wise government. Shall we fulfill this high mission?"

Unlike Nazi Germany we have fulfilled Aswell's prophetic commission by rejecting his advice. We've gained strength at home and won influence abroad by applying democracy, regardless of race. Our demonstration of racial equality among the ranks of our soldier-ambassadors overseas is doing more to explode communist color propaganda than books or broadcasts full of words.

The end of segregation for Negro servicemen outpaced the expectations of even their most hopeful leaders. As recently as the start of World War II, no Negroes were accepted for the Navy except as mess boys on the grounds that the general enlistment of Negroes would be disruptive. The Marine Corps was barred to colored recruits. The (then) Army Air Corps had only a single small segregated unit in Alabama for Negro pilots and ground crews. The Army as a whole inducted thousands of Negroes—into segregated units.

The strongest recommendation made in 1940 by The Hampton Institute Conference on the Participation of the Negro in National Defense was that colored rather than white officers be assigned to the four colored regular Army regiments. The conference also asked that additional colored reserve officers be trained and that eligible colored reserve officers be called to active duty. Segregation was not mentioned. Thirteen years ago colored leaders themselves considered that an impossible barrier to surmount.

Now the barrier is demolished, the impossible achieved, not only in the Army but the Navy, the Air Force,

and the Marine Corps. Soldiers, sailors and airmen train, fight, rest and win promotion to commissioned rank regardless of the color of their skin.

Perhaps because it faced the biggest problem in using Negro manpower, the Army has lead the way. The Army has always regarded the Negro question from a single overriding viewpoint: "What is the best way to employ all available manpower to create a fighting army?"

CIVIL WAR

Since few Negroes fought in the early wars of this country, the question of their use was never an issue. Not until the Civil War were large numbers of colored Americans in uniform. But from that date on the increasing totality of war, with the marked social progress of the Negro, combined to focus more and more attention upon the Negro's status in our Armed Forces. Nevertheless, segregation in the Army didn't cease until combat experience proved the right of the Negro race as a whole to full-fledged membership in the team. That proof goes back a long way.

Crispus Attucks, colored, was one of the first Americans to fall in the "Boston Massacre." One "Salem Poor of Captain Adam's company in Colonel Frye's regiment" was cited for extreme bravery at the Battle of Bunker Hill. A single regiment from Rhode Island, which won mention in half a dozen battles, organized by the famous Nathaniel Greene, appears to have been the only all-Negro unit. Yet individual performance by colored patriots was recognized, most signally in Virginia where the legislature enacted a law to free all former slaves who had served honorably in the army.

In the War of 1812, colored troops helped "Old Hickory," Andrew Jackson, defend New Orleans against the British. When Jackson found himself with only 4,000 defenders to meet an invading army of 10,000, his call for volunteers was answered by many Louisiana Negroes who materially aided in the British repulse. Negroes also served in the Navy. Those in the victorious squadron on Lake Erie were singled out for their valor by Commodore Perry.

The Civil War was the first conflict in which Negro Soldiers were deliberately segregated into specified organizations. Results were not generally encouraging, as might have been expected from the nature of that struggle. Confederates opposed by Negro units were roused to extra effort. Negro education and participation in American life was then extremely meagre, poorly fitting them to oppose on the battlefield men most of them had been accustomed to call "master" so short a time previously. Yet exceptions there were. The 27th U. S. Colored troops commanded by Brigadier General Blackman, employed in the assault on Fort Fisher, North Carolina in January 1865, fought well and actually accepted the surrender from the wounded Confederate commander.

There is no record of a Negro serving as a commissioned officer until the Civil War in which, oddly enough, the first was appointed by the Confederacy. Officers of the "Native Guard" of New Orleans, enrolled in April 1861 from the free

colored population of that city, were commissioned by the Governor of Louisiana. Later, after the fall of New Orleans, the federal government formed General Benjamin Butler's Corps D'Afrique: three regiments of colored infantry serving under white field officers but with Negro company commanders. Major Francis E. Dumas was the only Negro to hold field rank. Only after the active fighting was over did the northern states, Massachusetts foremost, begin to commission Negro officers, other than chaplains and surgeons.

NEGRO REGIMENTS

The Act which reorganized the Federal Army in 1866 stipulated that "the enlisted men of four regiments of infantry and two of cavalry shall be colored men." Reduction of the Army three years later consolidated the four infantry regiments into the now famous 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments of the Regular Army. The 9th and 10th Cavalry continued on the active rolls. Since there were less than 40 regiments in the entire army, Negro participation, at enlisted level at least, had been fairly recognized, though segregation was the rule as it was in civilian life. Colored troops received the same pay and allowances accorded to their white comrades although the principle of equal pay for equal work did not apply to Negro laborers in those decades.

The long service of the four Regular Army Negro regiments, prior to 1898 and in the interval before World War I, was invariably good, sometimes distinguished. The 9th Cavalry "in almost constant conflict took part in the bitter winter campaign against hostile Indians" before 1890, took part in the bitter winter campaign the following year to pacify the Sioux in Utah and Nebraska. The 10th Cavalry is credited with being the "backbone of the long drawn out Geronimo campaign."

During the thirty years between the Civil and Spanish Wars there were but three Negro line officers in the Army, all graduates of West Point. John H. Alexander died while a first lieutenant. Henry O. Flipper, Class of 1877, lost his commission in 1882 after reaching the grade of first lieutenant. The third officer, Charles Young, Class of 1889, served as major, 9th Battalion Ohio Volunteers in Cuba and became a captain in the 9th Cavlary to serve in Pershing's Mexican Expeditionary Force before he retired. Five colored chaplains were commissioned prior to 1898.

CUBAN EXPEDITION

In the war with Spain the Army made great strides toward adequate recognition of Negroes as soldiers. Two significant events highlighted their progress. In 1862 a Baltimore crowd assaulted a Negro Army surgeon and stripped him of his rank. In 1898, on almost the precise spot, a cheering crowd greeted the colored officers of "L" Company 6th Massachusetts Volunteers no less than the white leaders of the other companies. North Carolina, foremost in Confederate ranks in the sixties, formed in 1898 a Negro regiment officered from colonel down by Negroes.

The veteran 24th and 25th Infantries, the 9th and 10th Cavalries, Regular Army Negro regiments, all took part in the Cuban expedition

and the capture of Santiago. The Cavalry received applause for its timely intervention in the hot conflict at San Juan Hill, some newspapers expanding the facts to claim they "rescued Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders." The allegation never became a major controversy, unlike a number that raged after that war, since the Negro cavalrymen themselves modestly denied it.

General Orders No. 1, issued July 16, 1898, by our Army in Cuba paid this tribute to the Negro soldiers in this campaign: "Where all did so well it is impossible by special mention to do justice to those who have borne a special part. But of certain unusual features mention cannot be omitted, namely a regiment of colored troops, who, having shared equally in the heroism as well as the sacrifices, have voluntarily engaged in nursing yellow fever patients and burying the dead."

The First World War gave this country its initial experience with real mobilization since the Civil War. The government, forced to take a hard look at its manpower cupboard, saw that the Negro element of our population represented a huge manpower reservoir that could not be neglected. To ignore a tenth of the nation's potential soldiers was patently impossible.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

Selective Service replaced the "conscription" of 1863. Many thousands of Negroes were drafted for the vastly expanded U. S. Army, while voluntary recruiting met the Navy's and Marine Corps' relatively small manpower requirements. Thus the Army was the only service confronted with a full-sized "racial problem." Its colored recruits were segregated, as they had been by "jim crow laws" in civil life, mostly into service units officered, largely but not entirely, by white men. The few colored combat outfits formed had a much higher proportion of Negro officers.

Struggling with the sudden huge scale expansion, the Army was unprepared for the additional burden of assimilating thousands of Negro "selectees" into its ranks. Segregated units were, as a rule, organized for rear-area tasks of the "strong back" variety. Though only a few Negro combatant units were organized, search of official records proves that they performed well, flatly contradicting an unfavorable contemporary press. United States newspaper disparagement of our Negro soldiers was strange behavior for a nation which had heralded the exploits of the French Senegalese. Yet native sons of the Negro race had to await their justification by objective historians, less biased than the press of the day.

The only all Negro division, the 92nd, was officially commended by General Pershing (28 January 1919 at Le Mans, France) as "second to none in its record." The first all Negro artillery brigade, the 167th was warmly praised by its white regular Army commander, General Sherburne. Four Negro infantry regiments joined French divisions with whom they saw intensive action. Two, the 367th commanded by Colonel James A. Morse, a white officer with a distinguished record, and the 369th (formerly the 15th N. Y.) won the Croix De Guerre as

units. The latter won 172 individual decorations and suffered 1,100 battle casualties. Another, the 372nd, received the honor of having the French government erect a monument to its valor.

However, the Army failed to develop anywhere near the full combat potential of its Negro troops in the First World War. White officers who had served with Negro units were regarded as "unfortunates"; their experience as an ordeal. One such, commander of a Negro field artillery battalion (which never went overseas), said his greatest trouble was preventing his enlisted men, fresh from the deep South where they had never been permitted any responsibility, from selling all movable property to nearby (usually white) civilians for liquor and ready cash.

SOLDIER JOKES

A bumper crop of jokes about colored soldiers was harvested. Typical was the one about the Negro private who greeted a captain with, "Howdy, boss." After receiving a tirade on saluting, the colored private scratched his head and finally spoke, "Lawsy, boss, if Ah'd thought you was gwine git so mad about it, Ah wouldn't of spoke to you a-tall."

Jokes like these, however aprocryphal, didn't improve the Negro's status in the military establishment. Instead, they helped fix damaging pictures in the minds of other servicemen. The thumbnail sketch of the Negro servicemen between wars ran something like this: lacking group courage, ill-disciplined, need white officers, and can't use technical equipment. Little wonder the Negro's progress in the small economy squelched Regular Army was at a standstill for almost two decades.

The truth is that during the 20's and 30's the Negro had almost no representation in the nation's armed forces. Although approximately one out of every ten persons in the United States was a Negro, the ratio of Negro troop strength was more like one out of every forty in the Army; still less in the Navy and Marine Corps.

In the doldrums between two World Wars, the four traditional colored regiments had remarkable and sustained re-enlistment records. Composed mainly of "30 year men," their ranks offered few openings for recruits. Thus, there was practically no nucleus of trained and experienced Negro troops around whom an expanded wartime organization could be built. The situation in the Army's civilian components was no better. Less than 400 Negroes were accepted for citizens military training camps in 1939—compared to some 32,000 whites—and this was the very year World War II began on the plains of Poland.

During the thirties a Negro congressman began to appoint men of his own race to the United States Military Academy and invoked a storm in the rockbound school on the Hudson. The cadets made it doubly tough for the colored pioneers at Uncle Sam's school for generals, having forgotten their predecessors of the 19th century. Every conceivable, but legal, pressure was applied to pull the rug from under colored cadets. One of the first to come through this harsh test was Benjamin Davis, Jr., No. 34 in the Class of 1936, whose father retired

as a brigadier general in World War II. When he graduated the cadets took their hats off to a colored second lieutenant—now colonel—who had made the grade. Davis won their esteem and made it easier for other Negroes to succeed at the Point. Their presence there is taken for granted today. It was even tougher at Annapolis—not until 1949 did a colored "middie" graduate into the Navy.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES

When it came, World War II was to present exceptional opportunities to the Negroes in America. The Armed Services faced the problem of 1917 all over again in aggravated form, particularly the Army. Negro soldiers, as a group had less education; less opportunity to acquire mechanical and other technical skills; and generally made lower scores on Army "qualification tests," tests which less reflect native intelligence than adaptability for service based upon previous opportunities to learn.

While the Army never accepted any racial doctrine, it had to take into account the fact that the racial prejudices which exist outside continue to influence men even after they don a uniform. The Army had to decide how it could best use Negro personnel and simultaneously maintain the efficiency of the Army as a whole.

Emergency conditions are not conducive to experimentation. Once more the Army organized its colored and white troops into separate units. Segregation was held to be a matter of practical expediency, not an indorsement of racial beliefs and distinction. This policy resulted in establishing two colored infantry divisions and numerous separate anti-aircraft colored battalions. A War Department survey conducted in 1943 among soldiers of both races supported planners' estimates that there would be less interracial friction if colored and white enlisted men continued to serve in unmixed units.

However, in 1944, the shortage of good combat riflemen prompted the War Department to conduct practical tests toward increasing the Army's fighting power. Colored platoons, comprised entirely of volunteers, were mixed with white companies in combat, and volunteers from non-combatant units exceded requirements. When they went into action this simple test began to operate automatically. Would these Negro platoons fight as well as the white units they had replaced?

Results of this experiment were recorded in the report of a presidential commision entitled, "Freedom to Serve": "The great majority of white officers and enlisted men agreed that the Negro soldiers who had fought alongside them had performed excellently in combat. Eight out of ten white men said they had done very well, and almost all of the rest that they had done fairly well. Only two per cent of the enlisted men, and none of the officers, felt that they had done 'not so well' or were 'undecided.' No white officer or enlisted man said that they had done 'not very well.' "

On the basis of testing his small unit fighting ability, the American Negro soldier stood up much better, in fact, than when he was organized

(*Continued on page* 508)

WILLIE MAE RICHARDSON *opens her weekly radio program with a pleasant "Good Evening Radio Audience!" Miss Richardson is one of the most influential women in Waycross, Georgia.*

■ This woman began early to shape her life to a useful purpose

Willie Mae Finds Her Niche

By Stella Curry

THE way people get started in life is extremely important. Miss Richardson, affectionately called Willie Mae by a host of friends, believes that starts are significant. She began early to shape her life to a useful purpose.

Today, at 29, she is the most influential, and active Negro woman in the city of Waycross, Georgia. Her services are requested constantly by white and colored alike.

She first attracted my attention by means of the radio. As I listened to the stories she narrated, and the wonderful talent she presented, I knew I must talk to her. When I asked for an interview she graciously granted it. We found our interests so interwoven we talked for hours. During this time I learned many things about her.

Willie Mae's regular appearances on radio were the outcome of several panel discussions in which had been invited to participate by the T.B. Association and others. She is secretary of the T.B., Cancer, and Red Cross local units of the Negro division. Following this, she sponsored a series of amateur shows at the Carver Theater, and awarded prizes for the best performances. Through her power of persuasion, the biggest merchants donated all these prizes.

She was immediately approached by Dr. R. M. Harris, Jr., who wanted to sponsor a 15-minute weekly program called "Around Town." This program continued a year with Willie Mae as narrator for pharmaceutical products, and special talent.

The popularity of this program interested three prominent business men: Messrs. Johnson, McCoy, and Hemmans. Willie Mae's services were again requested, this time for a 30-minute program to include church news, talent, and business advertising under the title of "Church Calendar." This program has been on the air over a year, and still runs weekly.

Willie Mae knows where to find fresh talent, and how to vary it.

STELLA CURRY, *a free-lance writer, lives in Waycross, Georgia.*

She keeps in touch with every age-group, and has been instrumental in the progress of many young people.

At the conclusion of her Thursday night performance, she is swamped with telephone calls, many before she leaves the radio station

Much of the fine talent she presents over the air is requested of her by civic organizations around town. Willie Mae always cheerfully responds to these requests, and presents her people at these functions. She is the public relations person here, and serves well as the link between the city of Waycross and its Negro citizens.

IMPECCABLE DICTION

When I praised her diction, and the soft, clear tone of her voice, she said: "My mother had me giving readings in public when I was so small I had to stand on a box. Practice has helped me to modulate my voice. My mother did much missionary work, and I owe a great deal of my training to her. She has the kind of faith I earnestly contend for."

As she reminisced, she commented: "Yes, she gave me the starts that have influenced my entire life, and has given to it most of the joy and success I have had. That's one of the reasons I stick so closely to her."

"What's the other?" I asked.

"She's a semi-invalid and needs me as I once needed her. Much of my work can be done at home where I can look after her."

Throughout this interview with Willie Mae, I realized that her love for her mother predominates her love for all her enterprises. Willie Mae is the sole supporter of her mother, Mrs. Ora Richardson, whom I gathered was Willie Mae's greatest enthusiast.

Early in life Willie Mae wanted to serve her people, and give them their much needed outlet. To this end she has worked tirelessly. Today she smiles happily in the knowledge of having opened a wide avenue. Her first real preparation began with a secretarial course. She is a graduate of Bethune-Cookman School of Daytona, Florida.

In 1940 Jack Jennings, circulation manager of the Waycross *Journal-Herald*, conceived the idea of a colored supplement to this paper to give the Negroes a wider scope for expressing themselves. Willie Mae was asked to be editor-in-chief. Her versatility enables her to interview the deaf and dumb easily. She is an alert person, and well versed. Her jolly manner aids in getting the news. She reaches friends throughout southeast in getting her news.

Willie Mae serves all the Negro churches in the supplement with equal merit, and, with her 'nose for news,' is up to the minute with their social, and civic activities.

PROMOTIONAL WORK

The *Journal-Herald* has done all kinds of promotional work for the Negroes through the supplement. Some of this includes: the Negro Vocational School, and new public school buildings. Through Willie Mae's endless efforts, the circulation of the supplement has increased 400 per cent.

She has made it so popular that it has created a widespread interest. Several circulation managers of other

papers have approached the *Journal-Herald* circulation manager in regard to adding a supplement to their publications.

The Atlanta *Journal* and the *Constitution* are among those interested. Their combined circulation is the largest in the South and would offer a wide outlet to the Negro.

Recently, leading Negroes of the city, with Rev. Mr. E. J. Menefee as sponsor, arranged an appreciation Hour in an effort to say "Thank You Miss Richardson." Many out of town visitors attended along with numerous home friends. Mrs. Virginia Rance Edwards, librarian of Blackshear, Georgia, gave the main address, in which she compared Willie Mae to a "bad penny," "Thank you for turning up in our lives," she said, "because you vitally affect every part of it."

Gifts came from all over besides letters from friends containing funds. To all this Willie Mae expressed her deep thanks and was so happy she cried.

I knew that she had led the Mother's March on Polio to a most successful conclusion, and besides investigating various cases, had seen that those who needed braces got them. But I didn't know any one woman could find the time to do so many useful things until I heard it from her own lips.

She is modest, but I managed to draw from her a wealth of activity. She is a notary public, and a funeral home attendant. In education, Willie Mae has been serving as president of the Bailey Street School PTA. Under her leadership the PTA founders day program was presented in several nearby towns, serving as an inspiration to these communities.

When Jack Bailey's famous Queen-For-a-Day show was presented in Waycross, Willie Mae worked as key person and chairman in this activity which brought so much nation-wide publicity to Waycross. She also "emcees" the cooking schools for Negroes at the Carver Theater. These schools are sponsored by white business men of the city.

At this point I looked up to see Willie Mae's lovely brown eyes sparkling with enthusiasm. "What else could you possibly crowd into that already crowded schedule?" I asked.

"I like sports," she said, laughing. "I couldn't refuse when I was asked to work with the Baseball Goodwill Night."

GIFT OF LAUGHTER

She has the gift of laughter, and I know it serves her well, and invites others into a special world of treasured moments.

Willie Mae, a member of Macedonia Baptist Church, is a deeply religious person with that inward peace of mind that is so essential to a successful life. She has a wonderful philosophy. She believes in entering each new day with readiness of mind and with all her faculties in tune for any useful task. She doesn't allow any day to be wasted.

I don't think she quite realizes how her life is being woven day by day out of myriads of invisible threads. I do know that she is planting the seeds of a great heritage to the world by giving what she is to it.

When I asked her if she'd ever been in love, she lowered her eye-

(Continued on page 507)

THIS GROUP *came together to honor Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, president, Woman's Auxiliary, Atlanta, Georgia, branch. In the front row Daniel Byrd, assistant NAACP field secretary, hands Mrs. Haugabrooks a plaque. Dr. Benjamin Mays, Morehouse president, is at Mrs. Haugabrooks' right.* BOTTOM: *James Josey (second from left), chairman of the Staten Island membership campaign, presents membership certificate to Richmond Borough president Edward Baker.*

■ NAACP reply to the attack on the Negro family made by the joint legislative committee of the New York Legislature

N. Y. State Legislature Attacks Negro Family

By Herbert Hill

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People protests in the strongest terms the Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Migrant Labor, especially that portion entitled "The Negro Family." This portion of the report is a shoddy collection of gross historical distortions and unmitigated falsehoods and constitutes a vicious attack upon the entire Negro community under the imprint of an official document of the State of New York.

One can cite many examples. On page 25 is to be found the following sentence: "From his earliest years the Negro child is culturally conditioned to farm labor." No evidence is presented to substantiate this absurd statement, as indeed there is none. We inquire of the authors how many Negro children in how many different areas were tested and observed and by what means. How does a Negro child growing up in an urban community differ from a white child in becoming "culturally conditioned to farm labor"? How does this alleged "cultural" conditioning apply to the millions of Negro families living and working in urban communities who experience the same social compulsions and group differentations that are operative in the rest of our society?

On page 25 the following statement appears: "Children of working Negro mothers lack the advantages which such children had under slavery." This grotesque statement reveals a complete ignorance of the inhuman and brutal conditions which existed under slavery, conditions which cruelly destroyed the essential relationship between mother and child. We are not told what the alleged "advantages" of slavery were for the Negro child in comparison to present-day conditions. We find it most strange that an official Document of the New York State Legis-

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HERBERT HILL, *labor relations assistant of the NAACP, presented his testimony on September 11, 1953, to the joint legislative committee on migrant labor of the New York State Legislature.*

lature should attempt to find a justification for a social order condemned by history and all civilized men as brutal, degrading and inhuman.

We suggest that the authors of this Report acquaint themselves with relevant first-hand accounts of slavery in the South by consulting Frederick Law Olmsted's *The Cotton Kingdom* and *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* by Henry Wilson.

On page 24 the following statement appears: "The story of the American Negro indicates scant opportunity for developing permanence in his family relations. The absence of permanence in family relations implies a lack of social control over sexual impulse."

ABSOLUTE NONSENSE

This comment is absolute nonsense and again refutes the "scientific" and "objective" pretensions of this report.

The report gives no statistics and does not cite any clinical data or refer to various relevant studies to support the contention concerning the alleged impermanence of Negro family life, but instead makes a completely irresponsible and categorical statement regarding the emotional development of fifteen million human beings, and reveals a total lack of information and sensitivity concerning the institution of the Negro family and its great durability.

Those responsible for this report indicate an incredible ignorance plus bias concerning the Negro community. The authors of the report, in spite of their scholarly pretentions, are obviously unaware of the major studies concerning the Negro family and Negro community institutions.

We recommend that they consult *The Negro Family in the United States* by E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Metropolis* by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *The American Dilemma* by Gunner Myrdal, *The Philadelphia Negro* by W. E. B. DuBois, *The Black Worker* by Harris and Spero, and the writings of Charles S. Johnson and Robert C. Weaver among others.

The NAACP requests that the section of the report entitled "The Negro Family" be deleted. The circulation of these distortions and unscientific interpretations concerning the Negro community in the United States is very dangerous, especially if formulated in the terminology of the social sciences and appearing under the imprint of a State Government.

The widespread distribution of this document in libraries and schools as source material for future research will help perpetuate the discredited myths and prejudices about the American Negro. All too often in the past these falsehoods have led to well-known tragic consequences and we sincerely hope that those responsible for the study will withdraw the section entitled, "The Negro Family."

Over eighty percent of the seventy-five thousand seasonal agricultural workers employed in the State of New York are Negroes. These citizens are the victims of a system of almost inhuman economic exploitation characterized by child labor, lack of adequate housing, and decent sanitary facilities right here in New York State.

For many days and nights entire families, including women and children, are transported in open trucks, are forced to live in shacks, abandoned barns and tents amidst indescribable squalor. Unscrupulous labor agents deducts amounts from the meager earnings of migrant farm workers for transportation, housing, and for debts incurred in the purchase of food. The utter lack of medical attention and the flagrant violation of child labor laws together with the very hostile attitude on the part of local white townspeople and law enforcement officials has resulted in a series of intolerable conditions for the many thousands of Negro migrant farm workers in New York State.

It is most unfortunate that the Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Migrant Labor in several instances attempts to place the responsibility for many of these conditions upon the victims instead of indicting those who are really responsible: the large growers, the food processing and packing companies, and especially the labor contractors and crew leaders who are the most vicious elements in the entire system of migrant farm labor. The labor contractor is often responsible to no one and his practices too frequently are utterly unscrupulous. He is in reality a kind of twentieth century slavetrader trafficking in human misery.

MIGRANT WORKER

Each state where migrants come to live and work has an obligation to meet the basic needs of its temporary residents, and it is indefensible to set them apart as second-class citizens who are exempt from the social welfare and labor legislation available to others. Migrants are productive workers vitally necessary to the economy of the state and by their labor they enrich the wealth and prosperity of the state. Each state so enriched should have the corresponding obligation to provide migrant workers with the same services and facilities and protections under the law as are available to other citizens.

If the food processing and commercial agricultural industries of New York State need migrant workers for their economic survival the industry must be prepared to provide these indispensable workers with at least the minimum conditions for a healthful and decent life.

The NAACP believes that the enactment of new legislation, vigorously enforced, is absolutely essential.

On behalf of the National Association and the New York State Conference of NAACP branches representing forty-four local units in the State, I make the following proposals for new legislation:

1. *Licensing of Labor Contractors*: A law to license and regulate labor contractors, to establish a definition of function and provide for revocation of license and other penalties upon violation of law.

2. *State Contractual Forms*: State contractual forms between labor agents and migrant workers which explicitly state the conditions of employment and mutual responsibilities of contracting parties, copies to be filed with State Department of Labor.

3. *Child Care Services*: Proposal to extend child care services. At the present time the State spends ap-

proximately $40,000 a year to operate a number of child care centers in rural areas, about 500 migrant children are served under this program with the growers contributing 30 per cent. We propose the extension of this service to additional areas and believe it is necessary and proper for the growers to make a greater contribution. We deplore the fact that for two successive years the Director of the Budget has disallowed the request of the State Department of Education for an item of $10,000 to operate several public schools during the summer months for migrant children. This proposal is vitally necessary.

4. *Housing*: We believe it is necessary to establish a broader definition of what constitutes a labor camp and to secure a more vigorous enforcement of standards for all camps regardless of the number of inhabitants.

At the present time conditions in labor camps throughout the state indicate widespread violations of the law and we urge that the number of inspectors be increased and that the responsible state agencies establish minimum conditions regarding health and sanitary facilities that will be uniformly enforced in all camps throughout the state.

5. *Guaranteed Minimum Hours of Work*: Enactment of a state law requiring the employer of migrant labor to guarantee each worker registered one hundred and sixty hours of agricultural or related work in each four-week period, the first of such period commencing on the day after the worker arrives at the place of employment.

6. *Amendment to State Labor Relations Act*: Enactment of an amendment to the State Labor Relations Act to give the migrant worker the right to organize into a labor union and seek collective bargaining representation. Prevailing conditions call for the encouragement of democratic trade unionism among farm workers who require the same safeguards and legal protections enjoyed by industrial workers.

LAWS VIOLATED

For many years the laws of the State of New York and the administrative codes and departmental regulations relating to migrant agricultural labor have been universally violated.

It is obvious that the growers, the packing companies and the labor contractors have contempt for the laws of this State regulating the conditions of employment for migrant workers. The wanton violation of these laws is equalled only by the lack of vigorous and intelligent enforcement by the State agencies, and especially the Attorney General's office, which as the chief law enforcement agency of the State, bears a fundamental responsibility in permitting widespread violations of the law over a period of many years.

The lack of vigorous law enforcement is tantamount to a tacit collusion between the State government and the criminal labor agents and those upon whose behalf they function.

Widespread violations of the child labor law, the housing and sanitary codes and various provisions of the State labor law are

(*Continued on page* 507)

Good News

On March 18,1953, Dr. Roland B. Scott, professor of pediatrics at the Howard University School of Medicine, delivered the first scientific paper ever to be given by a Negro physician before the District Medical Society of the District of Columbia.

★ ★ ★

Everett Frederic Morrow of Hackensack, N. J., was recently appointed as an advisor on business affairs for the National Production Authority. This is a new position created in the Commerce Department as a result of reorganization of the continuing functions of the National Production Authority.

★ ★ ★

The first Negro undergraduate to be accepted at an all-white state supported institution in Virginia is attending classes at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in Blacksburg. Irving Linwood Peddrew, 18, of Hampton, Va., has been accepted as a day military student.

★ ★ ★

John W. Mitchell, extension service field agent of the US Department of Agriculture, has been promoted to National Extension Leader.

★ ★ ★

Another appointment of a Negro to a top federal post came with the naming of L. B. Toomer of Savannah, Georgia, to the position of Register of the Treasury.

★ ★ ★

J. Ernest Wilkins, prominent attorney of Chicago, Ill., has been designated vice-chairman of the President's Government Contract Committee, the "FEPC of the federal government."

★ ★ ★

Dean Scovel Richardson of the Lincoln University Law School (Mo.) is a new member of the United States Parole Board named by President Eisenhower.

★ ★ ★

Dr. George Haynes, noted educator and writer, is now conducting a 12-week course on Negroes in American civilization at the Countee Cullen Library, 104 W. 136th St., New York City, as part of a series of courses in the social sciences which the City College Extension Division is conducting in the New York City community.

★ ★ ★

Gloria White reigned as queen of the Monterey Union High School junior-senior prom last May in Monterey, California. Miss White had six attendants, five of whom were white; one Japanese.

DELEGATES ATTENDING *the Southwest Regional Leadership Training Conference of the NAACP held in Dallas, Texas, March 6-8, 1953. Delegates present at this conference represented branches, youth councils, and college chapters from the states of Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and New Mexico. Prominent delegates in attendance were Dr. E. A. Johnson, president of the Louisiana state conference of branches; A. Maceo Smith, executive secretary Texas state conference; James Stewart, chairman southwest regional advisory board; and Gloster Current, director NAACP branches.* BOTTOM: *Membership drive breakfast of the Elizabeth, N. J., branch.*

About That "Jim Crow" Coca-Cola Machine

IN the June-July issue of *The Crisis* we carried a picture of what we dubbed a "Jim Crow Coca-Cola Machine." Several *Crisis* readers, however, have pointed out that what we mistook for separate coin slots marked "White" and "Colored" are actually jim-crow drinking fountains. Careful examination shows these *are* drinking fountains.

Moss H. Kendrix of Washingtion, D. C., a public relations counselor to the Coca-Cola Company, writes us, among other things, as follows:

"The Coca-Cola Company neither manufactures nor distributes these items [vending machines]. They are made by firms which are completely in that sort of business. These companies sell such equipment directly to local, independent Coca-Cola Bottling companies, of which there are more than 1,100.

"Local Bottlers sell or rent vending equipment to retail outlets. Some filling stations [*and some bus stations,* Ed.], for an example, install water fountains to their vending machines in order to utilize the refrigeration units therein. It is the privilege of a vending machine owner to add to his equipment whatever attachments he may wish. If he has to have separate water fountains in conformity with local laws or customs, such, you will admit, is a matter beyond his control."

Yet these facts do not destroy the very intimate connection of Coca-Cola with *Jim Crow*. Patrons of these machines see the big "Coca-Cola" sign at the top and at either side two jim crow signs — "White" and "Colored." *The Crisis* feels that the Coca-Cola company should be deeply disturbed at this juxtaposition of its product with segregated signs.

Though the Coca-Cola Company has no direct control over the company that makes these machines, *The Crisis* is quite sure that a company as rich and as powerful as the Coca-Cola Company can, if it wants to, stop local owners from attaching jim crow drinking fountains. Pleas of no control are specious. And as long as such machines are in operation Negroes are going to believe that the Coca-Cola Company (especially since Coca-Cola originated in Atlanta, Georgia) approves the practice. It is up to the Coca-Cola Company to clear its name. For until such machines are put out of business Negroes will put the responsibility directly up to the parent Coca-Cola Company.

SOME OF THE 100 *student nurses who recently joined the Manhattan, N. Y., youth council of the NAACP.*

DR. E. D. SPROTT (*second from left*) *presents $500 check to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, NAACP board chairman, as contribution to Association's "Fighting Fund for Freedom." Returning from Europe where he attended the International Hospital Congress, Dr. Sprott, president of the Beaumont, Texas, branch, learned of the fund and hastened to the office to make his contribution. Looking on are Herbert Hill (left), NAACP labor relations assistant, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator.* BOTTOM: *District 4 of the IUE-CIO became the first unit of organized labor to contribute to NAACP "Fighting Fund for Freedom" when R. Burton Beck (right) and Paul Jennings (second from left) present checks totaling $400 from the district and locals in the district to Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, as Herbert Hill looks on.*

■ This writer asks some searching questions about the Negro's attitude toward segregation

What I Would Do If I Were a Negro

By Elta Campbell Roberts

I CERTAINLY do not presume to censure Negroes for what they do or do not do in the way of race relations. I realize, as a white person, I can have no comprehension of the problems of Negro people.

Since Negroes have been shoved off to segregated churches, segregated residential districts, and segregated schools for so many years, I am dimly aware of what courage it must require for a Negro to make the effort to become integrated in the various phases of American life. But colored people wish to become ordinary American citizens; otherwise, more of them would return to Africa to live. I have not personally known a colored person who did wish to go to Africa.

In spite of prejudice against the Negro, there are places where colored people can live as normal Americans if they intelligently avail themselves of the privilege.

It is no great honor or distinction to belong to a so-called white church. But if I were a Negro, and could associate myself with a white church, I would certainly do so. Even in places where there has been no required segregation of races, if Negro people voluntarily organize a church for Negroes, within a very short time the rest of the community will decide they are different from other people. If colored people wish to be regarded as average citizens, they must act as ordinary people, and must do their best to teach white people that they have the same kind of hopes and ambitions as other citizens. When I visited in Winnipeg, Canada, I learned there were only about 800 Negroes in a city of some 250,000 people. Negro preachers were coming there in an effort to organize Negro churches.

Likewise, in Honolulu, where there is little race prejudice, some colored preachers in recent years

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MRS. ELTA CAMPBELL ROBERTS, *who lives in Abilene, Texas, is an active worker in the field of racial harmony. She has given thousands of dollars worth of books to Negro schools and libraries.*

have been trying to organize Negro churches. In both of these places colored people can belong to so-called white churches. I do not blame any preacher for wanting a church. But, for the good of my family, and for the good of my race, if I were a Negro, I would not join such a Negro preacher's church unless he were influential enough to also have white members in the church. I would not sacrifice the future of my race for the benefit of one man.

SEGREGATED COLLEGES

It puzzles me, too, to know that some well educated Negro parents in the North send their children to segregated Negro colleges. I know the southern Negro colleges usually cost less money than white colleges. But some of these Negro parents in the North have been financially able to send their children to white colleges and in many cases their children were well qualified for white colleges. I realize most of the gradates of our Negro high schools of the South are not qualified to do the work in a white college. I know many colored people in my community. I know many of the graduates of the high school. In my opinion most of those graduating in the Negro high school at this time could not pass a rigid, stiff seventh grade examination.

Sometimes those in the business world are in better position to observe the results of a school than those who spend their lives in the school. The system is at fault—not the fault of the students nor the teachers. Segregation is the root of the whole trouble. However, while we are working to do away with segregation in schools, I do not understand why Negro students, who are well prepared for a white college, do not go to a white college. Probably very, very few Negro high school graduates in the South are prepared for a university, but it would be fine if the *best* Negro high high school graduates would enter small white colleges, either state schools or church schools, in places where they can be admitted, and where they believe they can do the work. Both Whites and Negroes are going to have to "unteach" themselves that doctrine we have taught so long: "Negroes are happier in their own schools and in their own churches." There is something wrong with both races if this is true. If the best students of Negro high schools would begin now to enter white colleges that would be a good preparation, for the whole race, for the day when segregation is entirely abandoned.

NEGRO TEACHERS

No doubt many Negro teachers would dislike to see segregated schools abolished for fear they would lose their jobs. Any forward and progressive step means a temporary sacrifice to some people. The world must move forward. People become resourceful enough to prepare for change. When farm machinery was invented, many worried about the thousands of people who would be thrown out of work, but more people have been resourceful enough to learn to do other kinds of work—work which paid much better. Moreover, many

(*Continued on page* 506)

Looking and Listening . . .

ARMY SEGREGATION

THE American Army, according to a United Press dispatch in September, is ahead of schedule in wiping out racial segregation. At least 90 percent of the Negroes in the Army are serving in nonsegregated units, the dispatch says. Official figures show that the number of all-Negro units in the Army had been cut from 385 in June, 1950, prior to start of the nonsegregation program, to 88 on August 1, 1953. In round numbers, only 15,000 of the Army's 199,000 Negroes were in segregated units in August.

In three years nonsegregation, or "integration," had been completed in almost all combat units in the Far East, Europe, Alaska, and the United States. The bulk of the remaining all-Negro units are service-types concentrated in Europe. The Army says these will be integrated as rapidly as possible.

Assistant Army Secretary James Mitchell, who is in charge of manpower, says that another sign of the amazing progress toward nonsegregation is "the acceptance of Negro officers and noncommissioned officers by white soldiers." And on Army posts he has visited in the North, South, and West he has found Negro and white service families living happily side by side.

NEGRO HOUSING

MADISON S. JONES, JR., FHA racial relations officer for region 1, writes an informative article in the summer 1953 issue of *FHA Insured Mortgage Portfolio* on "Negroes Acquire Housing Under Section 213." The greater part of the article describes Merrick Park Gardens in Jamaica, New York. "A number of the projects (under Section 213 of the National Housing Act of 1950) have been developed by Negro groups; but Merrick Park Gardens in Jamaica, N. Y., with 116 units, is the first of these to be completed and occupied."

This description is given of the project:

Merrick Park Gardens was initiated by Mr. William Brafman, who is an attorney as well as a builder with many years of experience in the construction of single family development and commercial properties.

A site 200,000 square feet in area was selected in Jamaica, Long Islatnd, 100 feet off Merrick Boulevard. The property originally was farm land owned by the parents of Homer and Langley Collyer, recluses who insisted on living amid junk and rubbish in their house in New York. Popular legend has it that the brothers used to walk from the Harlem area to Jamaica once a month to find out whether the city of New York was encroaching further on their land. The cooperative leased the land

for a period of 99 years with an option to renew for an additional 99 years. The ground rent, payable to the landowner, is based on a 4 percent per annum return on the FHA valuation of the land. Had the cooperatives corporation purchased the land in fee simple, a substantial increase in each individual's equity payment would have been required.

The two-story garden-type apartment development, turned over to the shareholders in February 1953, comprises 116 family units and 43 gargages. The architect was Erwin Gerber of Newark, New Jersey. The project has four fully equipped playgrounds, several off-street parking areas, and lattice-enclosed drying areas. Coin operated washers and dryers are located in the basements. The apartments feature living rooms 11'9"x 17'4", and the shareholders had a choice of many colors for decoration. The kitchens are equipped with electric refrigerators and gas ranges. . . .

The development was sold to the public on an open-occupancy basis: that is, although it was planned primarily for Negro occupany, the apartments were available to anyone who could qualify regardless of race or creed. The 116 shareholders represent an interesting occupational cross-section. They include Federal Government employees, small-business owners, salesmen, engineers, school teachers, labor union officials, bus drivers, social workers, real-estate salesmen, department store employees, nurses, clerical workers, transportation employees, musicians, and State and municipal workers. . . .

INCIDENTALLY, it might be mentioned that *House & Homes* devotes four pages of its April 1953 issue to "Non White Housing." Here are a few excerpts:

The simple truth is that the nation's urban whites have resisted giving their cities' new Negro population as much living space as their money would buy. The Census Bureau figures that any housing occupied by 1.01 to 1.50 persons per room is crowded (that allows five persons in a three-room house). It considers anything over 1.51 persons per room 'overcrowding.' Only 5.5% of the nation's city and rural nonfarm dwellers live in overcrowded conditions. But 18.2% of Negroes do.

For all races, only 9.2% of US homes are classified as 'dilapidated' by the Census Bureau. But 3.13% of Negro homes are. Among Negro homes, 58.4% have no bath-tub or shower, against a national average of 27%. Outdoor privies are the only toilet for 47.8% of all Negro homes, compared with a national average of 22.5%. . . .

One startling fact is that "around Boston, Massachusetts, there is not a single community with a private development for Negroes, not one which accepts Negro buyers." The developers explain: "You have to be practical. Nobody would be happy."

FARM HOMES

SHERMAN BRISCOE, United States Department of Agriculture information specialist, says that more colored farmers now live in modern homes although many still reside in shabby housing. Mr. Briscoe reports that during a recent tour of colored farms in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia:

The sight of attractive rural homes almost hidden along little traveled gravel and dirt back roads is a welcomed relief from the thousands of tenant shacks one sees bordering the main highways which sometimes run through the plantations. I am sure these dilapidated dwellings give the average visitor the impression that all Negro farmers and many whites live in ram-

shackle housing unfit for humans.

But behind the plantations are hundreds of neat and attractive homes on small farms owned and operated by Negro farmers. The farm and home agents of Extension Service have put in long hours helping these families to increase their production and raise their level of living.

In Leeds, Ala., for example, County Agent Percy White and Mrs. Rubye J. Robinson, the home agent, are helping to improve a whole community. Already 32 of the 46 homes in this section of Leeds have been touched by the program. Improvements include painting and general renovation, the planting of flowers, seeding of grass, the purchase of furniture, and the installation of modern kitchen equipment. The school, a store, and three churches are involved in the face-lifting project.

In South Carolina, Mrs. Marian B. Paul, State supervisor of home demonstration work; R. C. Smith, the farm agent; and Mrs. Cammie Fludd, the home agent, showed me many improved farm homes. We stopped at three or four, including that of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt Benson of Woodruff. They started out as sharecroppers with a borrowed bed and a second-hand stove 31 years ago. Today, they own 124 acres and an atractive home. Mr. Benson is chairman of the community farmers club and one of his boys is State president of New Farmers of America.

Near Columbus, Miss., I had a chance to see how Mrs. Janie V. Hunt has been helping families to improve their homes. Albert Anthony, 1000-acre cotton farmer, has built himself a modern two-story stucco house. It's serving as a good example for both white and colored farmers who are beginning to make some real improvements in their homes, too.

Theodore R. Jackson of St. Joseph, La., owns just 40 acres. But by developing a balanced farming program he is making it pay off. Newest crop to try his hand at, with the help of County Agent L. S. Whitlow, is eggs. He has 650 layers and collects as many as 240 dozen eggs a week. With part of his savings, he has built a comfortable home. By doing most of the work himself, he was able to reduce the total cost to about $1,000.

Fifteen miles further from town along a back road is the modern home of Mr. and Mrs. Charley Perkins. It's about as well appointed as any small rural home one will find anywhere. They have a complete bathroom and a new kitchen with a home freezer. They are making 40 acres provide them a good living.

In Arkansas, Prentiss Monk, a soil conservation champion of his state, is a model farmer, growing a variety of crops from cotton and cattle to peaches and caster beans. With the help of the production and Marketing Administration, and Soil Conservation Service, he has built more than four miles of terraces on his farm to help reduce erosion. Also, he has set out more than a million trees, mostly for his neighbors, within the last three years. This has proved to be an excellent sideline source of income.

Everywhere I visited from Virginia to Texas, I saw excellent examples of well kept modern homes, not enough of course, but the evidence of a growing trend which is a healthy sign.

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

WE OFFER below two examples of the use the Yugoslavs and Czechs often make of the American Negro problem in their anti-American propaganda. For instance, the June 28, 1953, issue of the Yugoslav daily, *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, carries an article under the headline:

ALTERNATIVES TO LYNCHING

on racial discrimination in the United States, especially against Negroes and Jews, and indicts Senator MacCarthy as "the Mussolini of the American Middle East."

The paper is the official organ of the People's Front, now called Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

The article stresses the fact that the American press likes to boast about the progress of democratic rights inAmerica because nobody was lynched in 1952. It is true, the article says, that for the first time in 78 years no Negro has been reported killed as result of a furious outburst of racial discrimination. The paper then mentions the Alabama incident where a Negro was injured and later on died in a hospital. But, the article continues, the mere fact that nobody was lynched during 1952 does not justify the sweeping statement that democracy has made progress in America. Although there has been no lynching there have been numerous cases of savage and ruthless vandalism against the persons and properties of racial minorities. Their number is even on the increase.

One of the most cherished alternatives to physical lynching is now the destruction of property belonging to people whose only guilt is the color of their skin. The article mentions "more than thirty instances of overt vandalism."

This is the caption to the cartoon *Zasahni Negra!* reprinted from the Russian journal *Literaturnaja Gazeta* as it appears in the Czech paper *Rudé Právo*, July 2, 1953:

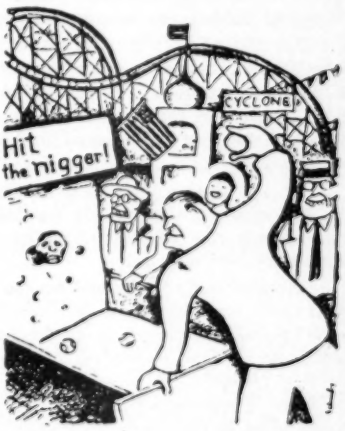
HIT THE NIGGER! Place: Coney Island, the New York Park of Culture. Time: the present. It can be visualized only with difficuty, but a fact is a fact. What we see in the picture is called an attraction. A large sign reads: 'Hit the Nigger!' People longing for "distraction' pay 50¢, get tennis balls, and throw them with all their strength into the face of a living human being. Who hits the target, receives a cigar.

In such a manner they distract themselves in American 'parks of culture.' The witness to this scene was the Danish author and painter Hans Schersig, who also made this drawing.

„ZASÁHNI NEGRA!"

Místo děje: newyorský »park kultury« na Conney-Island.

Čas děje: tyto dny.



Těžko si to představit, ale fakt zůstává faktem: to, co vidíme na obrázku, se nazývá ... »atrakcí«. Velký nápis volá: »Zasáhni negra!« Lidé, toužící po »rozptýlení«, zaplatí 50 centů, dostanou tennisové míče a vší silou je vrhají do tváře živého člověka. Kdo zasáhne cíl, dostane doutník.

Tak se rozptylují v amerických »parcích kultury«. Svědkem této scény byl dánský spisovatel a malíř Hans Schersig, který také vytvořil tuto kresbu.

(Z listu „Literaturnaja gazeta")

Editorials

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS

THE Crisis read President Eisenhower's address at the Republican party dinner held at the Boston Garden, Boston, Massachusetts, on September 21, with mixed feelings. Mr. Eisenhower was reporting to his party (the speech was primarily political) and then to the nation on the achievements of his administration. The general tone was good and the President re-dedicated himself to those noble ideals which guide a democracy. No one can object to this. But he reported little executive or legislative accomplishments for Negroes to crow about.

This is as close as he came to a stand on civil rights:

We have, in our respect for priceless civil and human rights, used the Federal authority, wherever it clearly extends, to erase the stain of racial discrimination and segregation.

He also said that he and his party believe in the people—all the people. And that

The supreme belief of our society is in the dignity and freedom of the individual. To the respect of that dignity, to the defense of that freedom, all effort is pledged.

Mr. Eisenhower has done many things in recent months to show that he believes in these principles, but, we feel, not enough. He has appointed many Negroes to important federal positions. He issued an order against segregation at naval shore installations. And his Attorney General Herbert Brownell has issued a forthright statement on the civil rights policy of the Attorney General's office.

BUT the President seems too often amenable to the extreme right-wing forces of his party and to those Southern Bourbons to whom he owes a political debt. He pays a political debt by appointment of Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina to the American UN delegation despite the extremely bad record of the Governor on racial matters. Governor Byrnes has always been an open advocate of racism. He once said, and apparently he has not changed his mind, that any Negro who "does not care to live in this land without political and social equality can depart for any country he wishes." And his present stand in support of the segregated public school system of his state is well known. America can hardly expect an opponent of the freedom of one-tenth of his fellow citizens to be zealous about the freedoms of the Free World, one of whose tenets is racial equality.

Mr. Eisenhower's administration, likewise upon southern insistence, dropped the anti-discrimination clauses in the farm loan rules, and under pressure it did not name Mr. Louis B. Toomer as collector of the Port of Savannah, Georgia, where he was to go. Nor does the resignation of Labor Secretary Martin Durkin augur well for labor.

Mr. Durkin claims that the President had agreed to changes in the Taft-Hartley law and then changed his mind. According to Mr. Durkin, the proposed amendments were to be placed before Congress on July 31, but on that day Senator Taft died. Durkin said he was then informed the White House would postpone the message but that no changes would be made in the 19 points agreed upon. However, on August 3, the message was "leaked" to the Wall Street Journal and public opposition developed. The White House was then reluctant to go through with the message.

The present administration is orientated toward Big Business and the "Big Guy" and many of the small gains which Negroes may make as a minority group are likely to be cancelled by contrary policies, which affect the masses of people, such as cuts in social security, the killing of public-housing and slum clearance, and the increase of the interest rate.

While it is too early yet to evaluate the Eisenhower Republican administration, *The Crisis* keeps its fingers crossed and urges that its readers measure intentions by deeds.

SCHOOL PARADOXES

THERE are many paradoxes in the fight to "desegregate" American public schools. In Cairo, Illinois, "desegregation" has gone forward smoothly. In Cairo it involved the enrolling of Negro children in the schools nearest their homes. Before this started these schools had been all-white and Negro pupils had been barred.

One interesting change is in the Tamms School of Alexander county, the same county which houses Cairo. The previously all-white Tamms high school now enrolls Negro pupils, and they are participating in all of the activities of the school, whereas at one time they had been transported by school bus either to Cairo's formerly segregated schools or to "Negro" schools in the adjoining county.

On the other hand here is the relatively enlightened city of Pasadena, California, or some of its school patrons, fighting to keep their children from enrollment in the Garfield School which is attended largely by Negroes, Japanese, and Mexican-Americans.

The PTA of the lily-white Arroyo Seco School is trying to get the school board to appropriate money to add two rooms to their already overcrowded school. The Pasadena branch of the NAACP is fighting this reversal of the customary segregative procedure of adding extra rooms to all-Negro schools.

In Louisiana when attorneys filed a suit in behalf of A. P. Tureaud, Jr., for admission to Louisiana State University, attorneys for the state argued that Southern University and Louisiana State University are equal and that Mr. Tureaud should enter Southern. A strange argument in light of the known facts about the shortcomings of most segregated colleges.

The lesson to be learned from these incidents is that "desegregation" requires watchfulness and that we cannot relax our vigilance for a moment.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

CONGRESSIONAL

Adjourns Without Passing Civil-Rights Bills: The 83rd Congress closed its first session in August without having enacted a single civil-rights measure, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP Washington bureau reports in his survey of congressional action.

"From the beginning when a Republican and Democratic coalition defeated an anti-filibuster rules change offered by Senator Clinton Anderson (D., N. M.), by a vote of 70 to 21, the 83rd Congress made a determined and successful effort to avoid consideration of civil rights," Mitchell asserted.

The Anderson motion was defeated when the late Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) made a motion to table it on January 7. Senator Taft was supported by 41 Republicans and 29 Democrats. Voting against the Ohio Senator were 5 Republicans and 15 Democrats, and one independent.

GOP RULE ENFORCED

The decision to kill the rules change was firmly enforced as a matter of party discipline among the Republicans. New Republican senators who favored a rules change fell in line with the policy decision of the leaders and voted to keep existing rules which permit endless "talkathons."

On May 12, during the tidelands oil debate, the Senate Rules Committee suddenly reported out Senator William E. Jenner's cloture resolution, the least desirable of the anti-filibuster proposals. However, no move has been made to schedule debate on this or any other anti-filibuster resolution. Workable plans for ending filibusters were introduced by Senators Herbert Lehman (D., N. Y.), Wayne Morse (Ind., Ore.), and Irving Ives (R., N. Y.).

HOUSE RULES RETAINED

In the House, the chief bottleneck to constructive legislation is the Rules Committee. On January 3, by a voice vote, the House adopted its old rules, thus continuing the power of the Rules Committee headed by Congressman Leo Allen of Illinois.

Congressman Herman Eberharter of Pennsylvania was unsuccessful in getting consideration of a resolution which would allow committee chairmen to force House consideration of legislation which their committees approve but which the Rules Committee does not clear within twenty-one days after receiving it.

Senator Ives set hearings on FEPC legislation, but postponed them until January, 1954. No other committee of Congress definitely set hearings on civil rights bills.

The late Senator Charles W. Tobey (R., N. H.) was studying anti-jim-crow travel legislation in his committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and had agreed to hold hearings, but dates had not been set. Chairman Wolverton (R., N. J.) of the House Committee has pledged that he will hold hearings on the bill, but no date has been set.

Although civil-rights bills have been introduced in all major categories such as fair employment, anti-lynching, anti-jim-crow travel, and anti-poll-tax, none of these is an Administration bill. Committee chairmen usually act on such legislation when the White House asks them to do so.

In the field of labor relations, all members of the Senate Labor Committee, except two, joined in sponsoring a vital amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act. This amendment (S.1831) would prohibit segregation and discrimination in matters under the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board.

Co-sponsors of the amendment are Senators Smith of New Jersey, Aiken, Griswold, Purtell, Goldwater, Murray, Neely, Douglas, Lehman, and Kennedy.

Passage seems certain if the White House approves it in a forth-coming message on Taft-Hartley amendments.

PUBLIC HOUSING SLASHED

House Appropriations Committee members singled out the racial relations service of the housing agencies for a cut when funds for the agencies were under consideration. However, the Senate reversed this action.

The Banking and Currency Committees of the House and Senate extended the time limit for purchasing of mortgages by the Federal National Mortgage Association in order to benefit housing open to minority groups. However, the Appropriations Committee of the House dealt a deadly blow to minority groups by slashing public housing.

The House Committee led a successful fight to reduce the number of units authorized for construction from 35,000 to 20,000. It also obtained congressional approval of a stipulation that no new units in excess of 20,000 could be built or planned without the consent of Congress.

This has the effect of halting construction of most of 55,000 public housing units the government already has under contract. One-third of all existing public housing units in the country are occupied by colored people.

HOUSE APPROVES HAWAII BILL

The House passed a bill to make Hawaii a state. The Senate may face a filibuster when the Hawaii Bill comes up because, during Senate hearings, Senator George A. Smathers (D., Fla.) repeatedly dragged the race issue into the picture. In the House, it was supported by Congressmen from Texas,

Georgia, Louisiana, and other anti-civil rights areas. The vote favored statehood by 274 to 178.

The Senate passed a bill (S.697) to give the District of Columbia a non-voting delegate in the House. However, the House buried the bill in committee. This and other home rule bills for the District came under fire from some southern elements in Congress on the charge that colored people will out-vote whites in the District.

The Senate Judiciary Committee on June 15, by a vote of 9 to 5, reported out a constitutional amendment which would limit the treaty making power of the President. Some of its supporters said the amendment was necessary to halt civil rights advances in the United States.

NAVAL

Promote on Merit: The Navy Yard at Norfolk, Virginia, was directed by the Fair Employment Board of the United States Civil Service Commisison, in August, to "take such steps as are necessary to insure that candidates for promition, particularly to supervisory positions, are accorded proper consideration with sole reference to merit and fitness."

The decision was handed down after a complaint had been filed with the board by Frank D. Reeves, Washington legal representative of the NAACP, on behalf of Elmer Harris, Negro civilian employee of the Navy. Mr. Harris charged that there was an unwritten policy of refusing to promote Negroes to any position which requires supervision over white employees.

In the Harris case, the complainant obtained a promotion to a supervisory position while his case was being appealed. However, the Fair Employment Board acted because Mr. Harris "has limited supervisory responsibility over four employees, two white and two Negro. However, he apparently does not have administrative supervision over such employees."

Moreover, the board pointed out, "prior to the complaint, which was filed by the appellant on April 14, 1952, only one Negro had been promoted to the position of Storekeeper, GS-4, within the component in which the appellant was employed. From October 1948 to April 1952, there was a total of 21 promotions to Storekeeper, GS-4. Several Negroes were qualified for promotion. The position of Storekeeper, GS-4, generally carries with it supervision over other storekeepers in grades GS-2 and 3. The Negro storekeeper who had been promoted did not originally have supervisory responsibilities over other lower grade storekeepers. After a complaint had been made concerning this matter, a group of Negro storekeepers were assigned to him from various units."

MISCELLANEOUS

Life Member: The highlight of the membership campaign of the Anchorage, Alaska, branch of the NAACP was a $500 life membership taken out by Fitz DeCosta Fleming, manager of the 1042 Club in Anchorage.

Announcement of Alaska's first life member was made at a musical tea closing the campaign at Pioneer Hall, site of the first school in Anchorage. The principal address of the affair was given by Mayor Maynard L. Taylor, Jr., who was introduced by George C. Anderson, publisher of the Alaska *Spotlight*, first and only Negro newspaper in the Territory. Mayor Taylor, one of the first members of the Anchorage NAACP, declared most attempts at discrimination here are made by "cheechakos" (newcomers) and outlined ways and means for the NAACP to combat the evil.

Atty. Wendell Kay, member of the Territorial legislature who sponsored the bill which became Alaska's FEPC law, was another speaker on the program, which included N. B. Nelson, officer of the carpenter's union and an active member of the branch, who outlined the cost of discrimination in employment. John Thomas is president of the Anchorage NAACP branch and Mrs. Blanche McSmith is secretary.

Shriners Contribute: The Imperial Council of the Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine of North and South America unreservedly endorses the NAACP "Fighting Fund," declares Imperial Potentate Rymond E. Jackson.

NAACP "Fighting Fund for Freedom." In recognition of the urgency and importance of this drive for complete emancipation, our organization is happy to make an initial contribution of $2,500. We recognize, further, that the need is not alone for funds but also for active support of a program which will benefit not only the Negro race but also the whole American people. To the extent that full democratic rights are denied to a segment of the American people we fail in our responsibilities as leader of the free world. The Imperial Council believes that freedom is a common heritage which must be shared equally by all the people. This is the goal of the NAACP to the fulfillment of which we are privileged and pleased to make our contribution.

DID YOU KNOW –

That the first Negro woman lawyer to practice before the U. S. Supreme Court was Mrs. Volette Neatly Anderson (Johnson) of Chicago, Illinois?

★ ★ ★

That the first Negro state school was the Snowden School of Alexandria, Va., authorized by an act of the Virginia Legislature on July 11, 1870?

What the Branches Are Doing

Arizona: President Mrs. Louise Phillips of the PHOENIX branch reports that the first fight her branch will take on will be the fight against the segregated public school. She also enclosed two clippings from *The Phoenix Gazette* commenting upon the school situation. An editorial in the June 13 issue under the title "An Outmoded Custom" says that "Racial segregation in Phoenix high schools can be abolished at any time by the board of trustees. But the board, while not prejudiced against Negroes, is somewhat timid about acting before receiving an expression of public opinion. . . . In view of the fact that segregation is sinking anyhow under the weight of public opinion and supreme court decisions, we think the Phoenix board of trustees might risk direct action against it."

California: The SAN FRANCISCO NAACP participated in "The Story of Segregation in San Francisco Public Housing" held in that city on June 6. Other participating organizations were the Japanese American Citizens League, the San Francisco Urban League, and the Council for Civic Unity.

Georgia: The women's auxiliary of the ATLANTA branch honored Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, prominent business and church woman, with the presentation of a citizenship plaque. This was done at the June meeting, which also featured an address by Daniel Byrd, special field representative.

Ohio: Dr. Charles Spivey, pastor of St. Stephens AME church, Detroit, Michigan, delivered the principal address to an audience of over 500 persons at a mass meeting held on May 6, 1953, at the Third Baptist church.

The meeting was the climax of the 1953 membership campaign of the TOLEDO branch, which was a great success. The totals to date, still unofficial because of several late reports, are 1565 members and close to $3,298.

Dr. Spivey said that Negroes and other minority groups cannot afford to become complacent in their quest for equal rights nor in their responsibilities as citizens. "If we are to demand the rights and the privileges," he said "we'll have to be ready and willing to accept the responsibilities that go along with them."

Attorney Robert V. Franklin, Jr., president of the local branch, reported that the current drive was the most successful in the history of the branch. He pointed out to the workers and the general membership that the closing of the drive means that our work has just begun.

Also participating in the program were the Reverend Mr. Leon Troy, the Reverend Mr. Augustus C. Sumpter, Anthony Banks, Bertha Irvin, Harold C. Strickland, Carroll Jordan, and William Johnson.

Minnesota: This report comes from the MINNEAPOLIS branch. On June 3 Frank Fager, executive secretary of the mayor's council of human relations, accompanied by Clifford Rucker, executive secretary of the governor's inter-

racial commission, and the Rev. Mr. George Siudy, went to Charlie's Cafe Exceptionale for lunch. The Rev. Mr. Siudy had previously made the luncheon reservation, but when the trio arrived, the cafe denied that a reservation had been made, and refused to honor it because of the presence of a Negro in the group. Other patrons without reservations were ushered into the dining room but these three men were not. When Mr. Fager was speaking with one of the patrons to ascertain that she had been shown into the dining room without a reservation, the two bouncers at the cafe lifted Mr. Fager bodily and threw him out of the cafe.

A conference was held the next day with the county attorney, and the branch legal redress committee had a meeting following this conference. Mr. Fager and Mr. Rucker then engaged Douglas Hall as attorney and the Minneapolis branch has pledged full support to these men.

The executive board of the branch authorized the president, William Cratic, to attend the national conference in St. Louis, Missouri. The rummage sale, ably directed by Mrs. Mary Lou Hill, netted $85 and enabled the branch to send one delegate to the national conference.

Missouri: Frances E. Carter, daughter of Rev. Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Carter, 204 North 8th Street, Hannibal, received the HANNIBAL branch $100 scholarship award for 1953. Miss Carter, who maintained an honor roll average throughout her four years in high school, is the highest ranking student of the 1953 graduating class of Douglass high school. She was a member of the school band and student council. She plans to enter a nursing school this fall.

New York: The GREAT NECK branch has received an NAACP life membership for Mrs. Anne J. Aldrich, its president. This membership was given Mrs. Aldrich as a surprise membership by friends and branch members in recognition of her leadership and courage on behalf of the branch.

Oklahoma: By unanimous vote the OKLAHOMA CITY branch authorized the writing of a letter to Etta Moten in protest against her remarks made at the municipal auditorium in April that the NAACP is controlled by Communists. Miss Moten said these charges had been made by a Muskogee school teacher, but she refused to reveal his or her identity. The branch also expressed agreement with Miss Moten's position on the unsegregated seating arrangements in the municipal auditorium during her concert.

Pennsylvania: The PHILADELPHIA branch in June sent letters to Gov. John S. Fine and Bernard Baruch requesting their support in correcting alleged undemocratic practices of the Pennsylvania Parole Board and the Junior Order of United American Mechanics.

In the letter to the governor, Charles A. Shorter, executive secretary of the local branch, asked that he intercede in the discriminatory acts of the Pennsylvania Parole Board of the Philadelphia area. Shorter charged that the board is "out of step" with trends of modern-day social work agencies in that it does not handle its case loads on an integrated basis.

The branch official said he personally knows many of the Negro parole officers who have faithfully served the board for years, and added, "they have the qualifications to work on mixed case loads as effectively as they are now doing with segregated ones."

The second letter, which went to Baruch, was to "apprise" him of the biased attitude of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics that presented him with the "Citizen of the Year" award on June 17 in Philadelphia.

Shorter asserted that according to literature circulated in Philadelphia membership in the 100-year-old organization is racially designated to include only "native-born American white male citizens."

Urging him to repudiate this race restriction policy, Shorter said that he did not feel that Baruch would condone any organization which places a limitation on the acceptance of its members on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

Wholeheartedly endorsing the letter, sent to Baruch prior to his acceptance of the award, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, stated in another letter to the New York elder statesman that such restriction by an organization in this day of crisis and peril "is unthinkable."

White added that Baruch could render no more useful service to the cause of democracy than by rejecting the United American Mechanics' Citizen of the Year award until the organization brings its practices in "consonance with American principles."

YOUTH COUNCIL NEWS

Annual Convention: More than 250 NAACP youth and college delegates representing every principal city and major college in the United States met in St. Louis June 23-28 to discuss ways and means by which young people can increase their contributions to the fight against racial and religious discrimination and segregation.

Youth and college delegates, meeting in joint sessions and in separate youth and college workshops, discussed such topics as: "Techniques for Waging Effective Membership and Fund Raising Campaigns"; "Methods in Programming for Youth Councils and College Chapters"; "Role of the Advisor in the Youth Division Program"; and "Techniques for Implementing the Fight Against Discrimination by Education and Legislation."

In addition to these topics, another workshop was held on developing intelligent and well informed Negro leadership among youth and young adults. This was one of the most popular workshops of the convention.

One of the highlights of the convention was the reading of the report of the National Youth Work Committee of the Association. This report, which was approved by the convention, reads in part: "Today there are 85 college chapters of the Association on segregated and non-segregated campuses in the North, the South, the East, and the Middle West and the Far West. The program of the NAACP, as implemented on American college campuses, has had immeasurable effect on hundreds of thousands of college graduates.

"Youth councils and college chapters have made magnificent contributions to the Association's struggle to eliminate discrimination in education, recreation, and social activities, employment, and in the field of international affairs." The report concluded with "We have but one goal and ambition, like yourselves, with vigor and determination to continue fighting until each and everyone of the Association's goals are accomplished."

The report calls for carrying the Association's program to Negro and white youth in every community; the building of a youth staff to aid in recruiting others into the youth and college program.

The 250 delegates in attendance at the convention constituted the largest youth representation ever to attend a national convention of the Association.

Donley Phillips, president of the Texas State conference of youth councils and college chapters, received a scholarship through the NAACP to attend the Holland project of the Experiment in International Living. He sailed on July 4.

College and School News

William E. H. Howard, who since 1947 has been a member of the staff of MEDHANE- ALEM SCHOOL at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was recently awarded a two-year scholarship to do graduate work at the Institute of Social Studies in The Gaue in the field of public administration. This is the third international scholarship Mr. Howard has held during the past four years.

■

Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, NAACP director and noted leader in interracial movements, recently retired from SMITH COLLEGE after thirty years as professor of Biblical literature and religion.

■

Scovel Richardson, dean of the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW (Mo.), was named in July to be a member of the United States Parole Board by President Eisenhower. This is the first time a Negro has ever been appointed a member of the Parole Board. Dean Richardson's term ends September 30, 1956.

■

The STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK has appointed Dr. A. Winifred Phillips and Dr. John Benson Manly, both of New York City, to teaching positions at its downtown medical center in New York City.

Dr. Phillips, a graduate of Wellesley college, received her M.D. degree from New York Medical college in

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1941. Dr. Manly, a graduate of Talladega college, received his M.D. degree from Howard university.

■

ST. EMMA MILITARY ACADEMY, Rock Castle, Virginia, reports fifty-nine years of successful operation after its humble beginnings under its founder the late General and Mrs. Edward Morrell of Philadelphia. Today the academy is fully accredited by the State of Virginia and gives its students a trade or agricultural education in addition to its standard high-school and military program.

■

The department of pediatrics at HOWARD UNIVERSITY recently received a grant of $14,850 from a foundation interested in child welfare. The award was made to support the teaching, training, and research program which is under the direction of Dr. Roland B. Scott, chief pediatrician. This award makes a total of $49,000 which this foundation has awarded to the department of pediatrics at Howard over the past three years.

■

Scholarship aid to eleven Negro and White students admitted to formerly "all-white" or "all-Negro" colleges and universities, mainly in the South, was granted in July by the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, INC. The awards, ranging from $100 to $400 each, totaling $3,500, were drawn from a grant from the New York Foundation in support of the NSSFNS' new "two-way integration project."

The NSSFNS has also awarded supplementary college scholarships ranging from $100 to $400 each to thirty-four outstanding boys and girls from twelve southern states and the District of Columbia. These students will attend twenty-four colleges and universities in eleven northern and western states. Twelve outstanding girls from eastern women's colleges likewise received supplementary scholarship aid ranging from $200 to $400 each.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY announces the appointment of Dr. Robert Thornton as dean of instruction and professor of physical science. Dr. Thornton is a B.S. from Howard, an M.S. from Ohio State, and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

■

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY conducted an extensive program of insect and spider collecting for rare and unusual entomological specimens during the summer in the western United States and Mexico.

■

The JOHNSON C. SMITH honor roll for the second semester of 1952-53 lists 96 names. To qualify a student must carry a minimum of fifteen semester hours and maintain an average of "B" in all courses.

■

H. H. Holloway, business manager of ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE, was recently named first national executive secretary of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. Mr. Holloway, an honor graduate of North Carolina

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college at Durham, with a degree in business administration, has done additional study at the University of Omaha.

■

Five members of the COLLEGE LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION have been awarded faculty fellowships for the academic year 1953-54. Those receiving grants for study in American and foreign universities are Dr. Thomas Jarrett, Atlanta university, English; Mrs. Margaret Alexander, Jackson college, language arts; Dr. Ruth Horry, North Carolina college at Durham, French; Mrs. Juanita Williamson, LeMoyne, English; and Dr. Sophia Nelson, West Virginia State, English.

■

Vivian Buggs, TALLADEGA COLLEGE science student, is spending her junior year as a visiting student at the State College of Washington at Pullman where she will continue her work toward the profession of laboratory technician.

President Gray has announced the appointment of Dr. Broadus Butler as dean of guidance and assistant professor of humanities. Dr. Butler, after graduation from Talladega, saw three years service in the army. He holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Michigan."

■

A sixty-three-year-old tradition was upheld for the third time when the board of trustees of MORGAN STATE COLLEGE elevated its vice chairman Carl Murphy, publisher of the Afro-American newspapers, to the chair-

manship. He succeeds Judge Morris Soper, who retired in June after thirty-four years of service. Mr. Murphy is Morgan's first colored chairman.

Luna Mishoe, associate professor of physics at Morgan, has been awarded the Ph.D. degree in applied mathematics by New York university.

Incomplete registration figures showed 376 enrolled in the annual college summer school, which commenced June 29 and ended August 1.

A prize fund of $300 for winners in the third national literary contest of the College language Association has been donated by the Johnson Publications, publishers of *Ebony*, *Jet*, and *Tan*, according to Dr. Nick Aaron Ford, head of the department of English and chairman of the creative writing committee of CLA.

Sprinter Art Bragg, hurdler Josh Culbreath, and runner Jimmy Rogers, Morgan track aces, were selected by the National Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) for its crack American touring teams which performed in Europe last summer.

■

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, president of Alabama State, was principal speaker for the seventieth annual commencement exercises at SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE on August 12.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY received $83,000 on July 1 from the five-year building campaign of the United Negro College Fund, which brings the total received by Shaw from UNCF to $260,380 since the start of the building fund.

■

Classes met for the first time during the new school term at FLORIDA A AND M COLLEGE on September 21. Fourteen ministers

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attended the Ministers Institute held at Famcee July 13-14. The institute was held under the auspices of the college department of religion and philosophy and the Tallahassee Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance. Tenth annual clinic for teachers and operators in the field of beauty culture was held July 13-25 under the sponsorship of the college and the Florida State Board of Beauty Culture.

Forty-two persons attended the annual state conference for Negro teachers of vocational agriculture August 3-7. The meeting was held under the auspices of the college and the Florida State Board for Vocational Education.

Three major changes in administrative posts at Famcee are the continuation of Manning Efferson as dean of administration, the naming of Edna Calhoun as acting dean of women, and the appointment of Charles Smith III as director of public relations.

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, assistant to the commissioner, Office of Education, Washington, D. C., was Famcee summer commencement speaker on August 12.

■

President Albert E. Manley of SPELMAN COLLEGE announces the appointment of Ruth G. Rush, a native of Atlanta, Georgia, as dean of women. The new appointee is a graduate of Clark college and holds the M.A. degree in education from Harvard university. Dr. Wallace T. McAfee, former missionary to Nanking, China, has been appointed Spelman's new college minister and teacher of religion. Dr. McAfee is a graduate

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of the University of California at Berkeley, holds the B.D. from the San Francisco Theological Seminary, the S.T.M. from the New York City Union Theological Seminary, and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago.

Willis Laurence James, director of the college glee club and a well-known composer, arranger, and folklorist, was on the program of the annual Tanglewood Music Festival, August 16-30, at Lenox, Massachusetts. He was member of the roundtable which discussed the topic "From Folk Music to Jazz." Mr. James was director of the studies in pure Negro folk music as well as a lecturer at the roundtable.

■

Among the distinguished speakers at assemblies of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY summer school were Dr. R. O. Johnson, of the university school of education, and Dr. Robert Brisbane, of the summer school faculty, who spoke on the dangers of communism; Dr. Mozell Hill, of the university department of sociology, who spoke on subject peoples and their quest for freedom; Dr. Milton Nabrit, dean of the Atlanta graduate school, who spoke on scientific inquiry and communism; and President Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, who spoke on McCarthyism and the church.

President Rufus Clement was main speaker at the eighth annual summer school convocation on August 20, when 49 candidates received their masters degrees.

New faculty appointments at Atlanta include Dr. Phyllis Wallace, to the school of business administration;

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Dr. Edward Weaver, school of education; Dr. Lou LaBrant, graduate faculty; and Dr. Morris Siegel, as anthropologist in the division of social sciences.

According to information received from Atlanta university, this institution has available approximately $30,000 in scholarships and fellowships for men and women desirous of furthering their education beyond the college level. These scholarships range from $50 to $500, and in many instances cover full tuition and labortaory fees. They are available in all divisions of the university, and will be granted on the basis of marked intellectual ability, character and leadership, as well as sound academic preparation.

■

ALBANY STATE COLLEGE has granted a leave of absence to professor of English A. R. Crowell for one year of study at the University of Calcutta, India.

Dr. William Payne, president of Savannah State, was summer convocation speaker on August 20. One hundred and three candidates received degrees.

Scholarships were given to four graduates by Atlanta university. Recipients of these $300 awards are Dorothy Davis, Bessie Williams, Georgene Clark, and Dolores Li.-ingston.

■

Dr. William Wallace, president of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, was one of the recipients in July of the Washington medal and a check for $100 from the Freedoms Foundation for the College international Relations Club.

The college held two workshops in July under its community college program in Gary and Vals Creek. And the annual driver education workshop was held on the campus August 3-14.

Charles Brunswick of Jefferson county, West Virginia, is recipient

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of the $200 scholarship in agriculture awarded annually by the Kroger Grocery Company to the high-school student who ranks first in scholarship and achievement.

■

Commencement convocation of the summer session of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was addressed in August by Dr. Ina Bolton, dean of students at Texas Southern university. Degrees were awarded by Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs to 46 persons.

The following additions have been made to the teaching and coaching department: Althea Gibson, woman tennis star, instructor in the women's area; William McMoore, as assistant football coach and director of intermural athletics; and Earl Beeks, as assistant coach of football and basketball, and instructor in health and physical education.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY recently received grants totaling $257,110. She received $130,000 from the estate of the late Joseph Browne when Marvin Sory, assistant treasurer of the Nashville Trust Company, turned over the registered securities and stocks, bonds, and cash to Fisk president, Dr. Charles S. Johnson. The money is to be used for scholarships. In making the announcement, Dr. Johnson said: "This gift represents the largest grant ever left Fisk by a Negro, and to my knowledge the largest even given any educational institution by a Negro." Joe Browne was owner until his death in 1917 of the Lischey Nursery and Greenhouses.

The second gift of $127,110 came from the $25,000,000 five-year building campaign of the National Mobilization of Resources for the United Negro College Fund. This grant will enable the university to go ahead with its building program.

■

A conference on school and college problems, conducted each year by the Virginia Advisory Committee on Schools and Colleges, was held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE August 6-8. The subject for study was improving instruction, and nearly 100 school representatives attended the sessions.

Virginia State was host August 13-14 to a two-day conference of building supervisors attended by custodians and supervisors of school buildings and other public properties. Final sessions of the Minister's Institute were held July 31, following three weeks of study and fellowship under the direction of Dr. S. L. Gandy, the college minister. The college was also host in August to the sixty visiting educators attending the conference on school and college problems.

■

President Charles H. Wesley of CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE was one of the speakers at the workshop on intergroup relations held in August on the campus of the University of Toledo. Dr. Wesley examined the historical background of racial relations in the United States and urged re-education of the American people to eliminate 'stereotyped ideas" about various minority groups.

CSC featured a series of weekly cultural and informational programs during the summer session.

THURGOOD MARSHALL (*center*), *NAACP special counsel, cheerfully accepts contribution of $2,500 to NAACP Fighting Fund from Dr. Raymond Jackson, imperial potentate of the Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Vincent Suitt* (*left*) *and Rev. John Davis, Shrine officials, and Henry Lee Moon* (*extreme right*) *look on.* BOTTOM: *Dr. R. A. Ransom, Jr.* (*left*) *presents $500 check for NAACP life membership to Dr. George Flemmings of the Fort Worth, Texas, branch. Looking on are Mrs. Rubie Brown, Richard Hill, Jr., William Ford, and R. J. Diamond, branch officials.*

Book Reviews

IMPRESSIONABLE SPIRIT

***The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten.* With an Introduction and notes by Ray Allen Billington. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953. 248pp. $5.00.**

In his *Rights of Man* Thomas Paine scored the most crushing blow ever against Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* when he charged the more eloquent statesman with pitying the plumage and forgetting the dying bird. Paine illustrated this by citing that Burke was accustomed to kissing the aristocratic hand: making as his heroes and heroines "tragedy-victims expiring in show," rather than the real prisoners of misery—"those who lingered out the most wretched of lives" sliding into death in the silence of dungeons.

It is precisely this situation that nowadays offers a fitting framework for Charlotte Forten's century-old diary. The most accepted literature and history of the ante-bellum South has been soaked in romance and wet-weighted with tears for that "peculiar institution" the rude abolition of which nevertheless left vestiges, and a nasty scar on Dixie's sick and sensitive soul. Charlotte Forten's *Journal* is not romance. It is a primary source of history covering the tempestuous decade from 1854 to 1864. Treadmill liberalism will draw no inspiration from its emphasis.

Charlotte Forten's father, Robert Bridges Forten, himself the son of a distinguished abolitionist, inherited his sire's vision and trade (that of sailmaker). Rather than submit his daughter Charlotte to the segregated schools of Philadelphia he kept her home to be tutored privately. And in her his hope and faith were amply vindicated. Between Philadelphia and Salem, Massachusetts, where she was sent in 1854, Miss Forten was steeped in the anti-slavery zeal which was the sign of the times. Thereafter, each year moved her towards greater distinction. In February, 1855, she graduated from the Higginson Grammar School; in July, 1856, from the Salem Normal School, after which she became a teacher in the Epes Grammar School at Salem.

Delicate health, probably aggravated by the "wild and unmanageable" material of formative youth, led her to dislike her teaching job, but Salem and nearby cities offered her a chance to plunge deeper into an eager pursuit of reading and abolitionism. She therefore listened to lectures by Lowell and Emerson, rubbed elbows with the sisters of Hawthorne and Whittier, and became an intimate friend of the poet himself. Here was a cultural setting of God's plenty.

But here also was that loneliness of soul occasioned by the warped value-judgments of the majority group. They worshipped the idol of color. So that the loneliness and hope and hunger which generated in Miss Forten's heart was poured out in her diary:

> None but those who experience it can know what it is—this constant, galling sense of cruel injustice and wrong. I cannot help feeling it very often,—it intrudes upon my happiest moments, and spreads a deep, dark gloom over everything.

Charlotte Forten's was an impressionable spirit whose humanity rebelled against the label of inferiority.

For this cause she suffered crude living conditions and hard, flea-ridden beds at Port Royal, South Carolina, where her mission was to teach the Freedmen. Teach them she did, and in the exchange she learned their beautiful music, witnessed sympathetically their "shouts," and recorded briefly many of their sad stories. Of these a typical one is that of Harry, whose master attempted to frighten him away from freedom by telling him the Yankees would shoot the former slaves. " 'Bery well sur,' he replied, 'if I go wid you I be good as dead, so if I got to dead, I might's well dead here as anywhere. So I'll stay and wait for the Yankees.' "

The able introduction to this journal by its editor, Ray Allen Billington, professor of history at Northwestern University, includes in capsule form the story of the remarkable Grimké brothers, one of whom (the Rev. Francis Grimké) became the husband of Miss Forten: If progress is not the illusion Anatole France said it is, the meaning of Miss Forten's *Journal* may be read to school authorities and educators in Topeka, Kansas — exactly 100 years afterwards.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***The Seeking.* By Will Thomas. New York: A. A. Wyn, Inc., 1953. XI+290pp. $3.50.**

Our ambassadors of international good will who would convince foreign peoples of the natural superiority of American democracy have before them a disturbing question to which they have yet to offer a satisfactory answer. Why is it that practically every Negro writer who can bear the expense has left his native soil to live or linger in France? Or, to put it more bluntly, what country is today a refuge for whom?

Yet, to put the above question is to raise another: Will the runaway artists come to realize that the cultural hell which exiled them needs them more than they need Paris—and now more than ever? For they whose souls have been scorched mature and gray in the pressure cooker of American culture should by now know that it is neither in traveling to far countries nor truckling to false gods that one finds the *way*. Hence the dilemma of the Negro intellectual.

It is this dilemma as a theme which makes Will Thomas' *The Seeking* so pertinent for our times. Like the ancient Hebrews, Mr. Thomas and his wife Helen sought a city; they found one in the state of Vermont—which probably best epitomizes the greatest of American traditions: the New England tradition. Their discovery led them to cancel their planned exile to Haiti, and to the writing of this interesting autobiographical travelogue.

The reminiscent flashbacks which make up the first and better part of Mr. Thomas' story reveal that he sought even more than a fulfillment of the "vision of freedom." Indeed, his whole life has been a quest. These flashbacks recapitulate a lost age of innocence in the author's life when time and experience were young, before consciousness of color engendered in an environment of misplaced emphases began to prick his sane and sensitive temperament. Left alone, he sought a dead father while his mother and stepfather (whom he resented) attended dances and parties. He wandered in the literary dreamland that was his father's library.

Part two of *The Seeking* tells how the Thomases have been accepted as

individuals by Vermonters. They found that their own minds had been conditioned to anticipate ill and suspect without grounds. As they took a closer look, their suspicions began to fade, for Vermonters draw no lines against the Thomases for the simple reason that they have something within themselves. Hence the distinction of Mr. Thomas' story springs from the virtues of a people he has learned to cherish.

Mr. Thomas is lucid and sharp in descriptive ability, but most of the dialogue in *The Seeking* is too commonplace for its words. A notable exception is his portrait of Old Harve, the ancient sage whose type is timeless. It can be argued that the Thomases are an exceptional family in an exceptional setting, that Negroes are known to fare well where they are so few as not to constitute a "threat" to the majority, but the fact remains that the Thomas experience is a challenge to white and colored alike.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

HENRY F. WINSLOW, *a frequent Crisis reviewer, teaches English in a New York City high school.*

OLD MR. GRUMPY

***Dom Casmurro.* A novel by Machado de Assis. Translated by Helen Caldwell, with an Introduction by Waldo Frank. New York: The Noonday Press, Inc., 1953.**

With this translation of *Dom Casmurro* another one of Machado de Assis' novels becomes available to the American reader. Last year the Noonday Press brought out *Epitaph of a Small Winner,* the English version of *Posthumous Memoirs of Braz Cubas.* Machado de Assis, the greatest novelist Brazil has produced, is relatively unknown in America although his stories and novels have been translated into several European tongues. Readers interested in Machado can learn more about him by reading William L. Grossman's "A Great Negro Author Rediscovered" in the October, 1952, *Crisis.*

The Mr. Grumpy of this story is Bento Santiago. He had not always been Dom Casmurro (the nickname means Mr. Grumpy), but got that way later in life when he suspected his wife of infidelity with Ezekiel de Souza Escobar, his closet friend. Purpose of his memoirs, which he begins writing at the age of fifty, "was to tie together the two ends of my life, to restore adolescence in old age." He tells about his childhood and youth and his adolescent love for his playmate Capitú, with "eyes like the tide when the undertow is strong." A winsome boy, he is dedicated by his mother to the church; but he is determined to escape the seminary, which he does; and he and his friend Ezekiel later graduate in the law. He is a successful lawyer with the help of the cases which Ezekiel shunts his way, and in the meantime Capitú becomes his wife.

"For the most part, all went well." Only one thing is missing, a child. When a son is born, he names him Ezekiel after his friend, but then the little shaver takes on the lineaments of Ezekiel and great doubt enters Bento's mind. He suspects his wife of infidelity.

Little by little his suspicions deepen; he thinks them confirmed when Ezekiel accidently drowns and he catches Capitú gazing at the corpse just as the widow had; and now he will always see between his wife and himself the image of Ezekiel. From this point on the drama changes in such a way that the adultery gradually fades and we have only the image of a sad, grumpy, misanthropic Bento. The slowly tightening coils of his suspicions drive him to the verge of murder and suicide, and finally lose him both wife and son.

In bare outline this story is the hackneyed triangle drama of husband, wife, and lover, but Machado de Assis

makes ambiguity, as Waldo Frank points out in his introduction, "the book's texture and life vision." For neither the reader nor Bento can be sure of Capitú's infidelity. What delights are the author's acute psychological observations and keen irony, plus the vignettes of the adolescent love of Bento and Capitú, the description of the Rio dandy, and the heated epistolary debate of the dying leper Manduca. *Dom Casmurro* is a unique and inimitable book.

***Simple Takes A Wife.* By Langston Hughes. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953. IX+240pp. $1.95.**

Simple Takes a Wife concerns the frets of Mr. Jesse B. Semple in his efforts to get a divorce so that he might marry Joyce. Of course, he marries her in the end. He is still speaking his mind as in the previous *Simple speaks his mind,* but this time it is mostly about women, marriage, and Harlem rooming houses. While he is beset by the usual restrictions of ghetto living, Simple takes these things in his stride and always manages to get in some pungent comment to show up the ridiculousness of race prejudice. Since he does not always have luck with his girl friends, much of his talk is about their petty squabblings, his frustrations, and the vicissitudes of Harlem rooming-house life. The atmosphere is strictly Harlem, and so is the idiom. An entertaining novel with many vivid descriptions that bring alive Harlem streets, bars, and cafes although Simple's forced punning is sometimes annoying.

***Civil Rights in the United States 1952:* A Balance Sheet of Group Relations. New York: American Jewish Congress & National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1953. 151pp. 40¢.**

An indispensable desk companion for anyone who is interested in the workings of American democracy. This fifth annual report covers such areas as citizenship, mob violence and lawlessness, employment and business, education, housing, the armed forces, Washington, and athletics.

"Voluntary groups throughout the country have taken encouraging action to eliminate or modify their own restrictive and discriminatory practices," explains the Foreword. "Some important state and municipal laws were enacted, there were several significant judicial decisions advancing the frontiers of equality and there was some helpful executive action against certain forms of racial discrimination. The legal attack on inequality was effectively pressed; it may well mark the next area of genuine progress.

". . . There has been a large increase in the number of Negroes voting in the South. . . . There has been marked progress in the elimination of segregation in the armed forces. . . . There have been important areas of our national life, however, that have remained untouched and that are still disfigured by the blight of segregation and inequality. The basic patterns of living in the country at large, have not been greatly altered.

IF I WERE A NEGRO

(*Continued from page* 479)

Negro teachers would not lose their jobs. And, in time, qualified teachers would be integrated into so-called white schools. Anyway, if I were a Negro, I would oppose segregated schools for the good of my child and for the good of my race.

If I were a Negro, and could live wherever I wished, I would not segregate myself in a Negro com-

munity. I know too well that white people, in most places, compel Negroes to live in the most undesirable places in town—down by the creek which overflows everytime it rains; in fact, in spots where no one wishes to live. I frankly confess I would not be one of those brave souls who risks his life to move into a so-called white neighborhood. I do not have that much courage. But there are a few places where Negroes can live anywhere they choose, and in such cases, if I were a Negro, I would not voluntarily huddle together in a Negro group of homes. Just as in churches, if together, the rest of the community soon decides that group is queer and different from other people.

It seems to me, if I were a Negro, I would do my best to get out of segregated Negro schools, segregated Negro churches, and segregated Negro residential districts. I know that is easier said than done. But many Negroes can do that now and help pave the way for the day when there is no segregation in districts. Am I hoping for too much?

NEGRO FAMILY

(*Continued from page* 472)

evident. It is obvious that the enactment of statutes without enforcement is meaningless.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will exert all effort to secure the enactment of new legislation and will engage in a state wide campaign to secure the vigorous enforcement of the law.

[*Following the protest made by the NAACP representative, Assemblyman Alonzo L. Waters, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Migrant Labor, announced that the entire section entitled "the Negro family," which contains the objectionable and offensive material in the committee's preliminary report, would be deleted from the final printed version distributed to the public.*

At the close of the session Mr. Waters stated that "the committee is sorry if we have offened anyone, this is not our intention. The final printed report of the committee will not contain the section entitled "the Negro family. I state this in my official capacity as chairman of the committee."—Ed.]

WILLIE MAE

(*Continued from page* 467)

lids coquettishly, then looked at me with a twinkle in her pretty eyes.

"I might have married a few years ago had my mother not been sick. And . . ."

"And what?" I persisted.

"And the fact that I like to include security with marriage," she said, softly laughing.

She didn't appear to have any regrets, so I knew Willie Mae had found her niche in life's book by giving service that has lent color

and distinction to each page. She has become a special person, and her rich nature never shrinks from responsibility. She is always ready to share in the good fortune of others and to give hope and cheer to those most in need of encouragement.

I think she must send out anew her faith every single morning. How else could she keep it alive? Maybe she realizes that if it gets static all her progress stops. What a lesson of inspiration she radiates

Learning about Willie Mae's enterprises made me realize that most great things have a language of their own, such as love, and influence. Those things cannot be properly recorded in words. She lives in such a way that people can see truth and integrity in her face. Such people are among the rich of this earth.

ARMY INTEGRATION

(*Continued from page* 463)

into completely separate units. Higher motivation—a sense of belonging—made the difference. It is true that every race and every nationality has been able to provide good fighting material. History shows this again and again. Take the reaction of a platoon sergeant from South Carolina to these side-by-side tests:' 'When I heard about it I said I'd be damned if they could wear the same shoulder patch I did. After that first day, when we saw how they fought, I changed my mind. They're just like any of the other boys to us."

Under the stress of a great war these tests received little attention throughout the Army, much less the nation. But they had been a source of encouragement to Negro leaders, a revealing eye-opener to the military high command. No drastic action to break down segregation in the Military Establishment followed immediately. That was to require another national emergency. So far, only Negro volunteers had been tested in combat—but there were other tests to come before V.J. Day.

Early in 1945 a number of Negro anti-aircraft units were hastily converted to engineer battalions, some of them labelled combat, after little more training than the injection of some well schooled noncommissioned officers. They were received dubiously by engineer combat groups who were seeing Negro comrades at the front for the first time, yet their record in general was satisfactory as units and excellent as soldiers. Often the NCOs had to partially "carry" the white officers who knew less enginering than the sergeants.

During the invasion of Germany one such battalion ran headlong into a group of SS troops, 1,000 strong, holed up in a forest. The group commander decided that morale considerations demanded the new battalion have its chance. Rather than replace them by a white battalion for the fight in prospect, he gave his orders to the colored battalion, and then personally joined their columns. "I never saw a more professional job," he reported later. "When those boys started after them the Krauts lost interest fast. They looked more like volksturm than SS, thanks to our troops . . . and was I ashamed of

my lack of confidence "

The Rough Rider who shared his canteen with a colored trooper at San Juan Hill was the exception for his day. In the last war, a fighting man was accepted regardless of race or creed. One bitter night in the Ardennes a Negro dispatch rider crouched miserably outside an improvised warming hut at a combat headquarters. Two white sergeants discovered him: "Come in, soldier, hot coffee." They linked arms and brought him to the physical and comradely warmth inside. Maybe that contributed in some slight measure to his battalion's battle success in Germany a few weeks later.

Unquestionably the Army was learning. The Negro soldier was readying himself for the final achievement in Korea . . . where only the uniform and the ability of the man wearing it had any significance.

Negro performance in World War II was an improvement over the 1917-18 results. It was a greater tribute to the deepening sense of true democracy in the nation and the armed forces. Negro officers were still relatively rare, compared to the number of their race in uniform, but their records were better, as was their treatment by their white colleagues. Negro soldiers, as always in the past, won individual awards for heroism but this time Negro non-combatant units were also singled out for meritorious service awards.

Most wholesome was the infrequency of racial troubles in civilian communities around Army camps where Negroes were trained; or in areas where large numbers of Negro troops returned from overseas. The Negro was beginning to be accepted, just as he was fitting himself for equality in the American scene.

If World War I had its discreditable jokes about Negro soldiers, the later struggle abounded in tales, more factual, of fine discipline, and unit esprit. One Negro truck company wrote a thoughtful dignified letter of protest — through official military channels—for the treatment it received from the military police when falsely accused of harboring a rapist. The Army commander, General Simpson, 9th U.S. Army, personally answered the letter, acknowledging the justice of the complaint and recognizing the company's excellent record, which included winning the meritorious service award.

World War II came to an end before the trend toward a non-segregated Army could be extended. There were indications that the traditional policy was not resulting in the most effective use of Negro man power in the Army. A post-war board of officers, headed by Lt. General A. C. Gillem, was appointed to prepare a broad policy for the future use of Negro man power in the Army. The board concluded that some policy modifications were essential for the Army to develop the full capabilities of every man allotted to it. [The Gillem report did not attack the basic policy of Jim Crow. Ed.] Changes were also sought because the improved status of the Negroes in education, training and increased participation in the government made possible a broader employment of colored soldiers. Finally, the Army sought to give the Negroes full opportunity to discharge their duties and responsibility as citizens to build up national defense.

Upon the recommendations of the board, the Army continued to approve the organization of racially separate units. But modifications in this policy were envisaged, leading to its eventual elimination. These modifications included the establishment of small, composite Negro and white units and the creation of racially-mixed special units. The Army's aim, to use all personnel with maximum effectiveness without regard to race, had not changed. It was the improved social consciousness of the American people, the outstanding progress of the Negro citizen, that permitted the military's new adventures in democracy.

Korea gave the Army an opportunity again to test Negro soldiers in combat. The word spread: Negro soldiers served best in racially-mixed units. Consequently, by mid-summer 1951, the Army took steps to achieve full integration of Negro personnel. Infantry divisions, previously organized into two white regiments and one colored regiment, were reshuffled. Complete equality of racial groups within the armed forces, accelerated by the impact of the Korean War, is now virtually complete. A similar integration has taken place with our troops stationed in Europe and Japan. With few exceptions it is the rule among troops stationed in the United States.

What does this integration mean? It means that no distinction is made between colored and white troops in their assignment to units or in their living together. The very moment a soldier enters the Army he is procesed and classified without regard to race and color. Army school quotas make no reference to race or color. Selection to attend school does not depend on this factor. Military occupational specialties and promotions are to be administered on a merit basis against a single standard. There are colored officers attending every military school and serving on the staffs of many of them.

The new policy for utilization of Negroes has been reflected in the handling of all Army personnel. The Regular Army integration programs for commissioned and warrant officers are conducted without racial quota restrictions. Reserve officer procurement is on a similar basis. Special recruiting programs for Negro enlisted personel have been instituted to draw Negroes into the Army for new jobs now open to them.

The Army now has male Negro commissioned officers in all grades below that of major general. It has Negro warrant officers, Negro nurses, Negro WAC officers, Negro enlisted women, and Negro enlisted men. Negro officers serve on the general staff.

NEGRO GAINS

In short, the Negro has won his place on the American Service Team —Army, Navy, and Air Force. This achievement, a direct gain for the Negro, will help stiffen the democratic ideology wherever it is threatened by malicious communist attack.

So well has communist distortion been spread, even among our friends abroad, that a prominent anti-communist editor writes, in Europe: "A great nation cannot appear before the world as a fighter for freedom and right if it fails to eliminate injustice in its own house."

This barrage like too many other ideological attacks leaves us on the defensive. But we are neglecting potent and demonstrably true propaganda of our own. We need not rely upon announcements of substantial progress in United States racial relations, reliable promises of better to come. These lack the eye-catching sensationalism of the now stale allegations they refute. Why don't we publicize our solid achievements in "eliminating injustice" among our Armed Forces?

American troops abroad have rightly been likened to ambassadors. The citizens of a country in which our forces are stationed react to the conduct of those troops much more positively than they do to either what we say about ourselves or about Soviet charges against us. The fact that Negro and white soldiers can be seen mixing together, wearing the same uniform, is the most effective retort to Soviet propaganda about racial bars in America. Many learned that fact in a bloody school.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

(Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Of The Crisis, published monthly October to May inclusive; bi-monthly June-July and August-September at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1953.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th Street, New York 18; Editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18; Managing editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18; Business manager, Roy Wilkins, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18.

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Officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. President: Arthur B. Spingarn, 60 Gramercy Park, W., New York 10, N. Y. Executive Secretary: Walter White, 242 East 68th St., New York 21, N. Y. Administrator: Roy Wilkins, 147-15 Village Road, Jamaica, L. I., N. Y. Treasurer: Dr. Allan K. Chalmers, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston 8, Mass. Chairman of the Board: Dr. Channing Tobias, 35 West 110th St., New York City 26.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

James W. Ivy

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of September, 1953.

(SEAL)

Morris Berk

(My commission expires January 22, 1954)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

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